CENTRAL PARK GARDEN, Seventh-ave. and Fifty-FIFTH AVENUE THEATER.—This Afternoon and results.—"Play." Mr. R. L. Davenport, Mrs. Clara Jennings.
GRAND OPERA HOUSE, COT. Eighth-ave. and Twenthirds.—This Afternoon at 2.—"Rast Lune." This Second at 8.—"Spy of St. Marc" and "Eobber's Wife." Locille Westers.

NIBLO'S GARDEN.—This Evening at 8.— Arrah-OLYMPIC THEATER-This Afternoon at 11, and

THE TAMMANY, -This Evening. - "The Queen of learts," and "The Oil Woman that Lived in a Shoe," &c., &c. Hearts," and "The Old Woman that Lived in a Shoe," &c., &c.
WALLACK'S THEATER,—This Evening at 8.—"Self."
John R. Owens. WOOD'S MUSEUM, Broadway and Thirtieth-st.-This Afternoon at 2 and Exercise at 8 -- Lalla Rookh," Worrell Six-ry

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New-York Daily Tribune.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1869.

Concerning the Œcumenical Council it is again an nounced in Germany that dogmas of assumption and in fallability will be promulgated. On the 24th the French Empress and Prince Imperial will leave for Constanti-The London Star favors the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. Carlists on the French frontier have been arrested by imperial command. The Czechs have refused to send Deputies to the Bohemian Diet, except on condition that Bohemia shall be assured a separate position in the Austrian empire, and that the laws of election shall be changed. Complete reconciliation has been effected between Turkey and Egypt. The civil war in Japan is ended. Salnave's position in Hayti is pronounced critical. In Mexico, Gen. La Vega was march ing on Gundalajara.

Judge McCunn yesterday discharged Rutter, the alleged Tennessee defaulter; and a moment afterward came news that Gov. Hoffman had ordered his delivery to the Tennessee authorities. James Burns, the last of the Gardiner's Island filibusters, has signed the required bond, and been set free. Reddy, the Blacksmith (Win. Variey), arrived here yesterday in arrest from California. Samuel Ramsey, police officer in Jersey City, shot and killed himself yesterday. Yesterday was one of the warmest days of the season, the mercury rauging 76, 88 Gold, 1321, 133, 1321.

The President is at Newport, the guest of ex-Gov. Morgan. Gen. O. O. Howard spoke at the Educational on, yesterday, on "Education Ar men." A number of important papers have been read before the Scientific Convention. The first conviction under the Prohibitory law was made vesterday at Boston. Southern Virginia is suffering from the drouth, and even the forest trees are dying. Water is scarce in Philadelphia, and stringent regulations have been enacted to economize its use.

The arrest of Carlists on the French border is perhaps only significant of a new arrangement entered into by Prim and Napoleon.

The Times, The Post, and now The Star of London favor the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. We do n't doubt their sincerity, but are not excited.

The unusual news that a train has been attacked and plundered on the Vera Cruz Railroad, does not argue well for the prospects of transportation in Mexico; nor is it consolatory, if true, that Gen. Placido Vega, the most threatening and persistent conspirator in Mexico, is moving on Guadalajara. We doubt the news, but make no question that Mexico is still in purgatory.

Judge Dent, with a lack of confidence in his own epistolary powers, which the facts do not at all warrant, has called up his reënforcements; and this morning we have the first, in the form of a letter from ex-Senator Brown of Mississippi. It is by no means so bad as it might be-nor yet so good. If campaigns were won by letter-writing, Judge Dent's party would very soon make his calling and election

The platform of the Labor Congress in Philadelphia seems to be less wild than the one promulgated at the last meeting in New-York. Amid many extravagancies it contains also some sound and wise principles; and on the whole, since it was to be partly good, it is a pity it could not have been a great deal better. But, with unto little, we welcome the vigilant watchfulness of the public lands, the favor shown to cooperation, and the promise of care for the rights of workingwomen, as signs of genuine

There is a malodorous proverb about what happens when rogues fall out, which we shall not quote, and for the unlucky recollection of which, just at the moment when we heard of the Tweed-Belmont war in Tammany, we can never sufficiently apologize. But we will say-and Louisiana, it was notorious that the Union had very great pleasure it gives us to say it-that | a majority of votes cast, yet Secession turned we seem to be approaching a period of such up with a majority of delegates; while Viralmost millennial happiness that we shall be quite able to agree with everything that the great leaders of the Democracy say.

-For example: Mr. Tweed's meeting last night solemnly and yet enthusiastically re-

That Mr. August Belmont, the present Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is inefficient, unsuccessful, and unpopular-and we take Mr. Tweed's word for it.

That Mr. August Belmont's dearth of capacity,

want of acceptability will inevitably lead to the defeat of Gov. Hoffman's campaign in 1872 her independence in 1775, rejecting every ap--and we accept Mr. Tweed's prophesy with

unquestioning faith. That the loss of two campaigns, to say nothing of the certainty of losing the third, has given sufficient experience of Mr. August Belmontand we have n't the slightest doubt Mr. Tweed has had enough of him.

We thus find ourselves quite able to agree with Mr. Tweed. Next comes Mr. Belmont's turn. Let his friends for him set down in resolutions of good, set phrase, his opinion of Mr. Tweed. From our general knowledge of Mr. Belmont's capacity for insight of character, we confidently anticipate the pleasure of an equally complete and unhesitating agreement with him.

MR. A. H. STEPHENS ON STATE SOVER-EIGNTY.

Hon. Alex. H. Stephens has written another long letter to The Constitutionalist (Augusta) in defense of the Right of Secession as he holds it and in attempted identification thereof with the Right of Revolution as long ago propounded by Abraham Lincoln, Benj. F. Wade, Horace Greeley, and other Republicans. We do not see that he sheds any new light on the subject; yet we will quote what seem to be his leading propositions.

We recently indicated the radical difference between his doctrine and ours in these words etween his doctrine and ours in these words:
"According to Mr. Stephens's conception, a majority of
the people of Delaware, consisting of less than 100,000
resons, might lawfully dissolve the Union; but the
hole population of New York south of the Highlands—
least 1,500,000 in number—could do nothing of the kind.
r. Stephens's may possibly be the true doctrine, but it
rtainly never was ours, nor that of any Republican, so
r as we know. The right we affirm is not based on the
deral Constitution, but is before and above any and all
assitutions."

To which Mr. Stephens responds as follows: To which Mr. Stephens responds as follows:

"Just so, let it be said to Mr. Greeley, with the doctrine
dvanced by me in the book referred to. It is not based
in the Federal Constitution, but upon the authority that
inde that compact. It is based upon principles existing 'before and above any and all constitutions.' It is
used upon the Paramount Authority (call it Popular
overeignty, or State Sovereignty, or by any other name)
which all organized States or Peoples can rightfully
also or unmake State or Federal Constitutions at their
deasure; subject only to the great moral law, which
gulates and governs the actions and conduct of Naone.

My conception, however, involves no such nonsense "My conception, however, involves no such nonsense as that exhibited in his statement of it, touching the relative populations of the whole State of Delaware, and a portion only (being a large minority however) of the population of the State of New-York. Populations in this respect must be looked to, and considered in their organized character. The doctrine advocated by me, with all its corollaries, restspipon the fact that Delaware, however small her population, is a perfectly organized State—is a Sovereign State—and as such is an integral member of our Federal Republic, and that New-York with her ever so many more people is no more. The doctrine is that ours is indeed a Federal Republic—constituted, not of one people in mass, as a single Republic is, but composed of a number of separate Republic." Comments by The Tribune.

In the frank admission of Mr. Stephens that the Right of Secession which he affirms is not based on the Federal Constitution, we discern the first approach to a mutual understanding. The Constitution, then, as we hold, and as he admits, does not authorize a State to secede from the Union. Not only is there no express warrant in the instrument for such a proceeding, but Secession is not among the powers which, by the terms of that instrument, are "reserved to the States respectively, "or to the people." Secession is a remedy outside of the Constitution, and anterior to it In other words, it is Revolution.

Now, then, we come to the gist of the mat-

Mr. Stephens holds that Delaware might rightfully secede from the Union, but that New York south of the Highlands, with at least 1,500,000 people, might not, because the former is "a perfectly organized State," while the latter is not.

But, when we come to Revolution, "an organized State" is of no account. It may be convenient to act through such organizations, as our fathers found it in 1775-6; but the legality and rightfulness of the measure was no whit improved by the fact that the American People acted through their preëxisting colonial organizations rather than against them.

Is there an American hving who does the Revolution of '75-'6 originated in a rebellion-that it was no more and no less a rebellion because, while the Royal Governors were mainly driven out, the Colonial legislatures, by a majority of their members, nearly or quite all sided with the rebellion?

The American Revolution was right, because impelled by righteous indignation against British tyranny, usurpation and abuse of power; the Southern Rebellion was wrong, because its most potent impulse, its cardinal purpose, its paramount object, were the territorial diffusion of Human Slavery and the consequent augmentation of its power in and over the Union.

-But there is another, and not less important question, on which we are at issue with Mr. Stephens-a question of fact. He holds that the People of the Southern States (Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky, of course excepted,) authorized and favored Secession: we hold that they decidedly did not-that their will was overborne by a violent, desperate, terrorizing minority. The facts on which we base this conclusion are summarily presented in The American Conflict, Vol. I. chap. xxii., which we will thank those who are interested in this discussion to read carefully. Let us further illustrate the matter by more fully detailing the proceedings in a single State:

Alabama, on the call of her Secession Governor, held an election on the 6th of December, 1860, for delegates to a Convention which assembled on the 24th. The Northern Counties, where Slavery was relatively weak and voters most numerous, went very strongly Union, so that the poll of the entire State showed a Union majority of 8,000. Fifty Union and fifty Secession delegates were chosen. But one poll (in Shelby County, we believe) had given 200 Union majority, electing two Union delegates for the County by 160 majority. The returning officer for that strong Union district was coaxed away on a hunting party, and so plied with good cheer that he stayed away for a week, failing to return the vote of his precinct, (as was intended:) so duly lamenting financial follies that will amount | the defeated Secession candidates were returned instead of the elected Unionists, giving the former four majority in the Convention. and the organization, of course. With this capital, operations were begun: one delegate from a strong Union County being promised a Major-Generalship for betraying his constituents, and others bought with such lure as would serve, until Secession was ultimately voted: Yeas 61; Nays 39,

This was a fair sample of the way States were bought or bullied out of the Union. In ginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, each-as well as Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri-chose Conventions overwhelmingly in favor of preserving the Union. In fact, the manner in which Secession was

voted by the South Carolina Convention, resisting every appeal for consultation and cooperation with her sister States of the South, proves not merely that Secession was unpopular in those States, but that the conspirators were fully aware of the fact.

peal for cooperation with her sister colonies?

Mr. Stephens proceeds to say that After Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of war-illegal and unconstitutional call for troops—aft pension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, no people pension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, no people on earth were ever more unanimous in any cause than were the people of the Southern States in defense of what they deemed the great essential principles of American free institutions. There was not one in ten thousand of the people in at least ten of the Southern States, whose heart and seul were not thoroughly enlisted in the cause. Nor did any people on earth ever make greater or more heroic sacrifices for its success, during four long years of devastation, blood and carnage."

—No doubt of it. The Southern Whites, who had resisted and voted egginet Secretion were

had resisted and voted against Secession, were easily brought to resist to the death what they were taught to regard and detest as "coercion," "invasion," and "subjugation." That is the very issue which we for months labored earnestly, though fruitlessly, to avoid; for it was plain from the outset that, if the ting and so much grace are so harmoniously question were put in this form—"Will you blended in a single production of the human consent to see the South subjugated and trampled on by the North ?"-every Southron would answer No. Hence we protested against any identification of the Union cause with the idea of Southern subjugation, urging that a majority of the People of the South were for the Union, and would so show themselves on a fair, straight issue after due discussion. Hence we said in the very outset of the open movement for Disunion-

movement for Disunion—

"Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope an ever to live in a Republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets.

"But, while we thus uphold the practical liberty, if not the abstract right, of Secession, we must insist that the step be taken, if it ever shall be, with the deliberation and gravity befitting so momentous an issue. Let ample time be given for reflection; let the subject be fully canvassed before the people; and let a popular vote be taken in avery case, before Secession is decreed. Let the people be told just why they are asked to break up the Confederation; let them have both sides of the question fully presented; let them reflect, deliberate, then vote; and let the act of Secession be the echo of an unmistakable popular flat. A judgment thus rendered, a demand for separation so backed, would either be acquiesced in without the effusion of blood, or those who rushed upon carnage to defy and defeat it would place themselves clearly in the wrong."

-This was our overture to the South directly after the people's votes had decreed Mr. Lincoln's elevation to the Presidency-how it was flouted and scouted, the world knows full well. And we here repeat the avowal of our conviction that it was so treated because the Secession conspirators knew that the Southern people were against them-that they would be beaten on such an appeal to that people as we urged and demanded. Listen to the following testimony of Hon. Jere. Clemens, given at a Union meeting in Huntsville, Alabama, March

13, 1864:

"Before I declare this meeting adjourned, I wish to state a fact in relation to the commencement of the war: some time after the ordinance of Secession was passed, I was in Montgomery, and called upon President Davis, who was in that city. Davis, Memminger, the Secretary of War, Gilchrist, the member from Lowndes County, and several others, were present. As I entered, the conversation ceased. They were evidently discussing the propriety of firing on Fort Sumter. Two or three of them withdrew to a corner in the room; and I heard Gilchrist say to the Secretary of War. 'It must be done. Delay two months and Alabama stays in the Union. You must sprunkle blood in the faces of the people.'"

-Such were our efforts to avert the tragedy that followed-such were the means whereby they were rendered abortive. We submit the case to the verdict of History.

APPRENTICESHIP.

Among the changes affecting trades and industries, none seems of more importance than that relating to apprenticeship. Formerly, young men learned trades by a regular and well-established system, but within 20 or 30 years this has been wholly abandoned, and it is difficult to say now in what manner a trade can be learned; at least, there is no rule. In many, if not in most trades, journeymen object to apprentices, and at the best they permit only a limited number to work among them, for the reason, as they allege, that their labor is competition, and tends to lower the rate of wages; and we have now this singular state of things in our country that where labor produces wealth and prosperity, obstacles op-

For the good of our country at large, and for the honor of industry itself, every facility ought to be afforded our young men to learn trades. We do not say that we should return to the old system under which service was required by law for a given number of years, and made obligatory by legal articles, nor do we say that a modification of this system might not be destrable; but we urge that some plan shall be devised by which any young man who wishes can enter upon a trade and be welcomed by the craft, instead of being considered an intruder. This is a subject of general concern, and one which too much affects human progress and the welfare of society to be controlled by journeymen who have no other interest at stake than their own wages. Whether wages would be reduced if there were many more mechanics may well be questioned. In the thickly populated countries of the Old World mechanics are if not in excess, in full supply-that is, in consideration of the poverty, and consequently of the limited wants of the people; but with us a condition altogether different prevails, and we venture to say that no addition which we could make to the number of mechanics within fifty years would diminish wages or a demand for their services. We say this, not of cities, and least of all of New-York, but of the whole country. We have large sections of country newly settled, every year thousands of farms are reclaimed from the prairie and forest, an immense number of towns, and villages, and cities are building, and are to be built, new and thriving families are established, and there is no work which a mechanic can do, and no product for his hands which is not, and which will not be, in demand. Even grant that wages and prices decline-for there is no pursuit and no interest which does not fluctuate-yet in our vast and growing country this can only be temporary, and new demands will quickly arise, and to an extent unknown in any other part of the world, or at any former period of time. But should the rewards of skilled industry be less, comparatively, than at present, they must always exceed those of the day laborer, and we are free to say of the average received in the professions, while the individual will receive immense benefit in being, by reason of his trade, independent, and less liable to fall into vicious habits, while he is thereby made a better husband, father, and citizen.

Of course we shall be told that there are mechanics enough already, that employers oppress, that only by strikes and holding out can living wages be obtained; and that to increase the number of mechanics by making an entrance to the trades easy will only add to the difficulties now almost insurmountable. We repeat, however, that there is work for all. Man has the power of locomotion; work has not; therefore it is to be sought where it can be found. When mechanics cling to cities, insisting upon terms, and disregard calls where they are needed, or forget that there are many places where, so to speak, work can be built up, if they are on hand, we cannot expect that young men will be welcome. We say, therefore, that leading mechanics, and those who have influence in Trades Unions, should

they benefit others, they cannot fail in the end of being benefited themselves.

ANOTHER GREAT HISTORIAN.

To the roll of those illustrious men who have written history in the English languageto the pames of Hume, of Gibbon and of Macaulay, of Bancroft, of Motley and of Prescott-we beg leave to add that of John Tyler, the Younger, who enriches the columns of Mr. Pomeroy's Democrat with historical essays, the main purpose of which is to prove that the Radical party is no better than it should be, which Mr. Tyler does with great force, learning, and muscularity of language. Two things in Mr. Tyler's compositions can never sufficiently be admired-his erudition and his style. It is very seldom that so much learnmind. 1. OF MR. TYLER'S LEARNING. In the single essay now before us, Mr. Tyler alludes with

the most engaging familiarity to Satan, Mammon, Alexandria, India, Arabia, Antioch, Alexander, Carthage, Scipio, Rome, Numidia, Cyrus, the Goths, Sodom and Gomorrah, Alaric, Byzantium, Death on the Pale Horse, Hell, the Garden of Eden, Palestine, Bagdad, and the Sacred Sepulchre. From this it will be rightly inferred that the sweep of Mr. Tyler is tremendous, and his grasp considerable. He knows all about everything-"the wild Sara-'cens gathered in tribal communities"-"the "Igorgeous fables of Arabia"-"Scipio flying his eagles over Spain and through Numidia, to the walls of Carthage "-" the inexorable decree of Ahasuerus"-"the indignant wrath of God "-" Alaric and Attila bursting against the gates of Peace, climbing the Capital and hurling Cæsar from his state"-"Death on the Pale Horse armed with darts and Hell following after him"the Star in the East conducting the shepherds to the Virgin"-"the shivering of the rod of the Cæsars within the walls of Byzantium"-etc., etc., etc. We can tell youthful aspirants for literary distinction that a man cannot write in this large and loose and luminous and luxurious sort of way, until he has wasted innumerable gallons of the very best midnight oil, and ransacked libraries without number. Mr. Tyler the Younger Is as familiar with antiquity as we are with the administration of his respected and patriotic papa. What seems to us the morning twilight of the world. is in his eyes a blaze of broad sunshine. He is as familiar with "Babylonia" (so he calls it) as he is with the City of Richmond. He is acquainted with the Gauls, the Goths, the Lombards, and the Huns, as with his next-door neighbors. You would think him just come by rail and steamboat from Carthage; and as for Death on the Pale Horse, he makes no more of him than if he were a small boy astride the oldest mare in all Virginia. Now, this is what we like. This is what we may call impressive. You cannot help being affected by such little traits of character. If you are something of a scholar you bow respectfully to such a Helluo Librorum; but if, unfortunately, you are not a scholar, you read Mr. Tyler's Essay with gaping wonder, and at the end thereof can only gasp out: "O yes! Of course! 'Certainly! By all manner of means!"

2. OF MR. TYLER'S STYLE. Of this, it is hardly possible to speak with critical calmness, so rich is it, so noble, so eloquent with sublime strokes and pretty touches exquisitely intermingled. The only fault of Mr. Tyler's sentences is that they are a trifle long-so long, indeed, that they take away the breath even of the silent reader. Yet it must be admitted that they are uncommonly gorgeous-there are no low expressions there are no meager and arid patches-all blooms with verbal fecundity and variegated magnificence. The following, which reminds us of Sheridan's prose-poetic play of "Pizarro," must suffice for a specimen of Mr. Tyler's mastery of dictionaries. (N. B. -The reader will please draw a long breath before commencing the fascinating but laborious perusal):

"Ruervated by refinements of luxury, marvelons in extent and indescrib-able in character, men as the world had not witnessed since the inscrip-tion. 'Kan, drank, and be merry,' let over effery man's duor in Babylo, nis by the inexorable decree of Ahasserns, called forth the indignant ervated by refinements of luxury, marvelons in extent and indexed wrath of God, and drew down from heaven the fiery hand upon the wall that measured his hingdom and consumed his heatial throne, and inmersed in seasaal induscrees beyond the comprehension of the unadulterate mind; such as those that juroked upon the Cities of the Plain the hot curse of Jebovah, and suck So om and Gomerrah hissing in the ng lake of His appear-less rage-shile thus drunk with carrage, and sin, and crime, and steeped in lethargic in alence, she saw her gi rice, star by star, expire, and up her proof steep in rherian monarchs ride. She became the Niobe of nations, childless and crown case in her roiceless woe ; and she stands the lost mother of dead empires."

-If this is n't fine writing, we beg most re spectfully to be informed what is. Observe how involuntarily, in the poetic rush of his thought, Mr. Tyler lapses into the heroical decasyllabie:

"The burning lake of His appearaless rage, She saw her glories star by star expire; Up her proud steep barbarian monarchs ride."

-What would we not give if we could write in such a beautiful way! Alas! this gorgeousness of diction, this pyrotechnical brilliancy, this superb rush of sentences, this easy but gigantic vigor and this winning sweetness of manner, all combine to form a style so peculiar that few modern writers would even at-

tempt to imitate it. It may be asked by the curious writer what Mr. Tyler's "Essay" is all about. To this we can only reply that the vigorous and methodical writer himself sums up the matter as follows: "With minds illuminated we have been 'led, step by step, to recognize the divine physical law, and the divine philosophy of the soul as remaining alone permanent, continuous, and indestructible, in the midst of the mutations of things and the revolution,8 of human affairs." It will be seen, therefore, that what Mr. Tyler the Younger is driving at is that "the divine philosophy of the soul is permanent, continuous, and indestructible." To be sure, not ody has ever said that it was n't; but then it is well, now and then, to be thus forcibly and elegantly reminded of these little truths.

It is something of a comfort to know that Mr. Trier, in his investigations, is at present Ceated, like Caius Marius, among the ruins of Carthage, and that it will be some time before he can get across the ocean to demonstrate the designs of the Radical party against the liberties of the people, the laws of the land, and the institutions of the Republic." But we know our fate. Sooner or later-if we may in such company use such a common phrasewe shall have "to take it." At present, one great, momentous, absorbing, thrilling, agitating question arises, viz.: "What will be the effect of these Essays upon the next Presidential Election ?"

Gen. HIRAM WALBRIDGE has declined the Presi dency of the Mediterranean and Oriental Steamship Company, assigning his feeble health as a reason. Mr. OLIVER B. DYER will lecture in exposition of S wedenborgian views of religion, at Mount Vernon to-morrow (Sunday), in the Universalist Church.

lack of purpose, indifference as to results, and | What would have been the inevitable in- look on the wants of our young men with more | Aug. 7, arrived late last night, The steamship Deutschland, from Bremen,

THE TO A VEYER DISEASE ASSESSED THE VEHICLE OF LEVIL ON A SUPPLY OF THE PARTY OF TH ference, if Massachusetts had alone declared liberal views, and with the certainty that if POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY HORACE GREELEY. XIII.

THE INTEREST OF CONSUMERS-IRON. In my contemplation of our general theme, I do not, with many others, divide the community into two diverse, sharply discriminated classes, antagonized as Producers and Consumers respectively. In my conception, all who are of any account are both Producers and Consumers, with substantially identical interests, suffering by each other's misfortunes and prospering through each other's prosperity. I was once a laborer for wages; I now pay wages rather than receive them: yet I cannot realize that it is less my interest now than it formerly was that a fair day's work should command a fair day's wages. For, since I live by making newspapers, for which a wide, capacious market is indispensable. I know that a reduction of the great body of our people to a pecaniary condition akin to that of the coolies of eastern Asia, or even that of the peasantry of Europe, would preclude their buying, to any considerable extent, newspapers, or books, or any literary wares whatever; so that my loss, by the extensive cheapening of Hired Labor, would decidedly overbalance my I can better afford to pay fair, living wages the labor I need than to obtain it far cheaper at the cost of restricting the market for my products to the comparatively small class who are able to live on their inherited or accumulated wealth. And my case is substantially that of all who live by selling the products of their industry to satisfy the wants of others, and thus minister to their own. It may seem, indeed, that those who grow food, or who produce any other of the first necessaries of life, are exempt from the operation of this law; but in fact they are not. Their market is enlarged, the prices they receive are signally enhanced, by the diversion of multitudes, who would naturally have been their competitors, into pursuits which render them life-long customers instead. The inevitable enhancement of the price commanded by farms in a township or county, consequent upon the establishment and vigorous prosecution of manufactures or mining therein, is a familiar exemplification of this law. A new industry will often give value even to bowlders or rugged ledges of granite, which had previously been not

merely worthless but a positive drawback, subtracting from the value of the lands on which they were found. Thus a forest, which the owner was slowly, patiently destroying by ax and fire, at a cost of \$20 to \$30 per acre, has been suddenly transformed into a considerable property by the erection of a furnace or factory, the construction of a railroad, in its vicinity. Thus many substances, once deemed worthless, have become valuable through the mere progress of industry, knowledge, civilization; as many more, doubtless, will do as mankind grows wiser. Thus mines of Coal and of Minerals, over which savages have roamed heedlessly for centuries, are discovered and worked by their civilized successors, proving almost inexhaustible sources of comfort, power, and wealth. There be those who say, "Let us continue to draw our Metals, as well as our Wares and Fabrics, mainly from Europe, because Labor and Capital are so cheap there that the products of British mines can be laid as rails across our richest beds of Coal and Iron Ore far cheaper than we can make thence the rails we need." It seems to me that the cheapness here asserted is fallacious, mistaken, illusory. Admit that fewer dollars will buy from Great Britain the

rails required, they will cost, in my view, far more of our Labor than would similar rails made from our own ore on our own soil. For every tun of rails made here tends to increase the capacity, skill, experience, whereby our people are enabled to make better and cheaper rails through all future time, and to grade the ways over which our diverse materials approach and mingle with each other. The cheapness of British Iron is in good part the result of British skill and knowledge evinced in the commingling of diverse ores so as to produce a metal of far greater value than could have been obtained from either of those ores smelted by itself. Great Britain has for years been so thoroughly gridironed and chequered by railroads and canals that such commingling is far more easily and cheaply effected on her soil than elsewhere; but we are profiting by her example and following swiftly in her footsteps. It is but a few years since the vast deposits of choice Iron Ore on the eastern shore of Lake Superior were reached by a railroad; and already they are extensively drawn upon to produce Iron not only in Michigan (near Detroit), but nois (at Chicago,) and for steel-making at Pittsburgh. At length, Indiana-which boasts the possession of 7,500 square miles of better Coal for Iron-making than is found elsewhere-has been prompted to erect great furnaces near Greeneastle, at Indianapolis, and perhaps in other localities, where her numerous railroads may cheaply concentrate the Coal of her south-western counties and the Ore of Lake Superior, beside the Limestone which extensively underlies her soil, and thus produce (she calculates) a Very superior Pig Iron at a very moderate cost, though the Ore has traveled hundreds of miles to meet her Coal rather more than half-way. So St. Louis is making considerable Pig Iron ; drawing by rail to herself the Coal of Southern Illinois from the north-east, to smelt the Ore of the Iron Mountain from the southwest; and she expects to make much more, and to better advaniage, when she shall have completed her bridge over the Missouri, so that the Coal may be run by rail from the mines directly to her furnaces. Thus on every side we are perfecting the conditions whereby Iron can be cheapened, as we could not perfect them in the absence of a market for American Iron. The railroad whereby Ore is brought from Lake Superior would not have been built in the absence of a demand for that Ore; and so with that which is destined to bring the Iron Mountain piecemeal to St. Louis. We shall thus ere long have cheaper American Iron without reducing our makers to European wages, if we have but the foresight and patience to seek it aright, and not repeat the blunder of 1846, when a Protective Tariff was broken down under which we were supplying

ourselves with American Bar at less than \$60 per tun, while, after a few years of Revenue Tariff, we were buying British bars at \$80 per tun.1 Yet I would not induce a belief that Iron will ever be made in this country for so few dollars per tun in the average as will buy it from Europe while the disparity in the ordinary wages of labor shall remain so great as at present. A tun of Iron embodies so many days' Labor in quarrying or digging, smelting, puddling, &c., &c., and very little else than Labor directly applied to its production; and all know that this labor is very much cheaper in Europe than heres Take all the work done in producing a thousand tuns of Iron in this country, and its average cost will fall little short of \$2 in gold, for each day's faithful labor; while Mr. Abram S. Hewitt,2 gives statistics of the wages of Labor employed in Ironmaking in Europe, showing that in England its average cost ranges from 3s. 6d. to 4s., or 87f cents to \$1 (gold) per day; in France at about 70 cents, and in Belgium at less than 60 cents per day. But England has the advantage of her Continental rivals in the greater abundance and accessibility of her Ores and Coal; so that she makes Iron, in the main, cheaper than they can: the average cost of merchant bars

In England, £6 10s., or \$32\(\frac{1}{2}\) (gold) per tun.
In Belgium, £7, or \$35 (gold) per tun.
In France, £8, or \$40 (gold) per tun.

(It should be noted that women and children are extensively employed in mining operations in Great Britain at prices far below the cost of similar labor performed by men, and that the product is thereby considerably

being stated by Mr. Hewitt as follows:

Now, I believe that improvements and economies are soon to be realized which will considerably reduce the cost and price of Iron; but, as these be universally diffused, I do not believe we shall make Iron so cheaply here as it can be made in Europe, so long as Labor there costs less than half the price of similar labor here. A tun of Pig Iron, embodying a good fortnight's work-part of it skilled,

I Address of John L. Hayes to the National Association of Knit Goods Manufacturers, New-York, May 1, 1987.

5 U. S. Commissioner to the last Universal Exposition of the Product

of the World's Industry, at Paris, 1867.

or high-priced labor-on either continent, I judge that it must continue to cost more where such Labor is worth \$2 per day than where it averages from 6

cents to \$1 per day. Better authorities dissent from this conclusion The Hon, Daniel J. Morrell, M. C.,3 in his testimony

before the U. S. Revenue Commission, 1866, says: "If British cheap labor were out of the way for twenty-five years, we could so attract their skilled labor, and so nearly rival them in the advantages of labor, and so nearly rival them in the advantages of capital, that we should need no Protection. Indeed, I would engage to export rails to the British dominious at a profit, if we could have our own market for that time. I feel certain that such a measure would not impair, but would greatly increase, the revenue. The fully-employed and well-rewarded labor of the land would, in a thousand ways, be able to contribute to the income of the Government, and more than make up for the loss of duties on imported iron.

"Any branch of American manufacture that has received Protection, adequate to secure it the home market, in the past, has soon demonstrated its superiority of product, and has been enabled to compete, on equal terms, with foreign manufactures."

-This seems to me too sweeping, though the rule indicated will generally hold good. A recent British report (from Birmingham) seems more discriminating and accurate, in maintaining that, wherever ingenu ity and the substitution of machinery or steam power for manual laborcan be made to tell decisively, there American intelligence and capacity assert their preëminence; but where (as in Iron) a product costs so many blows with sledge or hammer-in other words, so much muscular erertion-there the relative cheapness of European labor makes itself decisively felt. I incline, therefore, to concur generally in the reasoning on this point of Mr. Hewitt, . who says: "It is obvious that the abnormal rates for labor

which we have been considering cannot prevail in any one branch of industry alone, but must extend to all; as labor, like water, must seek a general level in each community governed by the same laws, and subjected to the same influences. All articles of commerce are, therefore, produced below their normal cost—that is, the cost which would be possible if the fundamental laws of humanity were not violated in the employment of women and children, and the payment of a rate of wages to the commen laborer fundamental laws of humanity were not violated in the employment of women and children, and the payment of a rate of wages to the commen laborer inadequate for the proper support and culture of the family. In those commodities which require in the United States more human labor for their production than is necessary in Europe, where labor is so inadequately paid, we have, perhaps, no other interest than a general concern in the welfare of the human race; but, so far as Iron is concerned, from the fact that we can produce it with as little consumption of human labor as any other nation in the world, the case is different, because there is no absolute loss of wealth, and no misapplied power in its production; and the only question to be discussed is, whether it shall be taken out of the general category of manufactures not so favorably placed as to the cost of production, and by positive legislation placed in the same condition as it would have occupied with reference to foreign competition, if the rate of wages in other countries had never been reduced below their normal standard. We have seen that the cost of making Iron in England, Belgium, and France, at the present time, varies from £6 los, to £8 per tun, and £1 additional suffices to pay its cost of transportation to the seaboard of the United States. At these ports, American Iron cannot possibly be delivered at a less cost than \$70 in gold, against \$40 in gol the present time, varies from £6 10s. to £8 per fun, and £1 additional suffices to pay its cost of transportation to the seaboard of the United States. At these ports, American Iron cannot possibly be delivered at a less cost than \$50 in gold, against \$40 in gold for the foreign article, and the entire difference consists in the higher wages, and not larger quantity of labor, required for its production in the United States, where the physical, mental, and moral condition of the working classes occupy a totally different standard from their European conferers, and where the wages cannot be reduced without violating our sense of the just demands of human nature. At the same time, it is to be observed that the business is so far overdone in Europe that no profit can be realized by the capitalist, except in special cases, for which adequate reasons can be given. The actual remedy for this over-production would be to withdraw the women and children, as we do, from this class of industry, whereby the production must be reduced, the rate of wages raised, the cost and the selling price increased, capital become remunerative, and the ability to procure iron, made cheap by its adulteration with the violated laws of humanity, be forever extinguished. To what result the general discussion which this subject is now receiving in Europe will lead, it is not easy to decide; but it is a curious phenomenon to listen in France to the loud complaints, which are made against the competition of Belgium in the manufacture of iron, and stranger still in England to the same complaint, and the broad declaration that it will not be possible to do anything for the education and elevation of the working classes without exposing their manufacturers to ruin in consequence of the competition with the worse-paid and worse-fed labor of Belgium. The truth is that the whole system is false, and now, when pressed by the energy, enterprise, and competition of the age to its legitimate results, humanity is in rebellion, and there is a general cry f phers, and statesmen, alike—for relief. The necessity for this relief becomes painfully apparent when the poor-law returns made in England are carefully examined, from which it is evident that there is an army of paupers pressing upon the occupations of the common laborer, and striving to push him over the almost insensible line which divides these two classes from each other. It is not possible that the laborer should receive more than bure subsistencewages, and there can be no relief for his patient suffering, so long as there are thousands who, unable to earn any wages at all, stand ready to fill up every gap in the ranks of industry: and to the honest gap in the ranks of industry; and to the honest laborer himself, standing on the edge of this line, over which he is liable at any moment to be forced over which he is hable at any homen to be dread into the ranks of pauperism, the anxiety and misera-ble state of uncertainty for himself and his family must be fatal to all rational happiness, and is well calculated to drive him into vicious indulgences and demporary excesses whenever a transient opportunity is afforded, as a momentary relief from a condition -If there be those who hold that American Labor

should be reduced to compete on equal terms with such as Mr. Hewitt here depicts, I decidedly disagree with them. But I do not less emphatically differ from the conclusion of those who say, "Since European Labor is so much cheaper than ours, let us profit by that cheapness to obtain our Metals, Wares and Fabrics, of Europe at lower prices than we must pay for them if made on our own soil," I hold those low prices to be :

1. Illusory (a. I have hitherto shown), in that the Foreign products cost more in our labor or its fruits. though less in money, than the home-made. If we analyze the process of paying for a quantity of Home Manufactures, we find that a large part of the payment is made in articles which would have no value, or very little, if our workshops were still mainly in

Europe. 2. Capricious, in that the prices we pay for European products which we rival here are far less than they would be in the absence of such rivalry. 3. Pernicions, in that our preferring the products of

underpaid to those of fairly recompensed Labor tends to reduce the compensation of Labor and the statue of the Laboring Class in our country and throughout the world: and 4. Unpatriotic, in that the inventions and labor

saving processes which the ingenuity, capacity and intelligence, of our countrymen are constantly making in every field of useful effort they occupy, will be lost to our country and to mankind, if we surrender that field to the upfair rivalry of cheap European Labor.

-"But you Protectionists," we are told, " are continually crying 'More! More!' You are like the horse-leech's daughters stigmatized by the prophet, who cry 'Give! Give!' and are never satisfied." Let us see:

I have before me a tabular exhibit of the duties levied on the most important articles by the several Tariffs passed by the friends of Protection from 1816 inclusive. Here are the rates levied by them respectively on Iron:

Tariff of Dec. Do. Do. Do. Do. 1816. 1824. 1828. 1832. 1842. 1861. Pig. per tm. \$10 \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$12\frac{1}{4}\$ \$10\$ \$19\$ Rolled Bar. \$30 \$37 \$30 \$30 \$25 \$25 \$25 \$Nails, per B. \$3 cts. 5 cts. 5 cts. 5 cts. 4 cts. \$2\frac{1}{4}\$ cts.

Hence it will be seen that not only are the average duties on Iron lower this day than they were fixed by the Lowndes-Calhoun Tariff of 1816, but Pig Iron -the lowest and rudest condition of the metal-that which is simply rugged Human Labor in a concrete form-is admitted at a lower duty under the present Tariff than under that of 1816, or any of those since passed by the friends of Protection. The effort of the Free-Traders to confuse the public mind with regard to these facts by diluting the present duty into its Greenback equivalent, so as to call it \$12 or over per tun, is contemptible. The duty is levied and computed in precisely the same currency (coin) today as under all former Tariffs; the \$9 duty per tun paid to-day on imported Pig Iron is exactly \$1 less per tun than that imposed by Mr. Lowndes's Tariff of 1816; and so with other descriptions of Iron. No other item in the present Tariff has been more

fiercely or frequently assailed than the duty on Pig Superintendent of the great rail-producing " Cambria Iron Com pany; "Johnstown, Pa.

4 Paris Universal Exposition, 1867. Reports of the United States Com-missioners. The Production of Iron and Steel in its Economic and So-cial Relations, by Ahram & Hawitz United States Commissioner.

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